

34. For what purpose.
35. And fortune.
36. Emperor Leopold formed an alliance with John Sobieski, King of Poland, against the Turks in 1683, and soon after on March 5, 1684 a Holy League was formed with the addition of Venice, Russia and the Papacy. The war, which began with the famous siege of Vienna (July 14—Sept. 12, 1683), lasted for sixteen years and put an end to Turkish domination in Hungary.
37. I returned therefore at 4 P.M.
38. Forming a sort of dais.
39. Raised three spans above the rest.
40. Gold veil.
41. Shone.
42. *Katari, katar, katarah*. A dagger. For full description see Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 85-86.
43. Being eighty years old.
44. Conspicuous.
45. The officer in charge of petitions was the *mir arz*. There are very few references to this office in the *Akbarnama*. In the twentieth year of Akbar's reign, the officer was for the first time appointed. "An accomplished courtier was made Mir 'Arzi' so that he might during the time of his watch represent the petitions and requests of mankind without reference to his own ease, and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles." (*Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 208; Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 220, n. 1).
46. At so advanced an age.
47. Cornac. Elephant driver or mahout. See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 256.
48. Shah Alam had five sons—Muizz-ud-din, Azz-ud-din, Muhammad Azim surnamed 'Azim-ush-shan', Rafi-ul-qadr, and Khujista-Akhtar Jahan Shah. With the exception of Azz-ud-din all the sons had children. (See genealogical table on p. 143 of Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. I).
49. Muhaminad Azam Shah born in 1653, died at Jajau, in the war of succession following Aurangzeb's death (June 1707).
50. Obeisances.
51. One span above the other.
52. Had to make.
53. The ensigns at the entrance to the Emperor's camp, which the author describes, were collectively called the *qur*. The *astab* or sun was adopted as a standard by Timur when the fire-worshippers were conquered. The gilt hand is the *panjah*. It represents the hand of Ali. The horse's tail is obviously the *chatrioq* or the *tumantog* mentioned in the *Ain* (Vol. I, p. 50). It is a small standard adorned with the tails of Tibetan yaks. See Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 31-35.
54. Kotwal.

### CHAPTER III

1. If indeed the sons await their father's death.
2. Shah Jahan.
3. Compare Tavernier who writes "This great monarch reigned more than forty years, less as an Emperor over his subjects than as father of a family over his house and children." (Vol. I, p. 260). Shah Jahan ascended the throne in 1627 and had reigned only for thirty years when the war of succession began.
4. The actual age was 65 years and 8 months.
5. More fitted for other things than love, he became desperately enamoured of a young Muslim woman,



6. This is one of the fantastic stories to which the foreign travellers often gave currency. For similar or more baseless scandals see Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 194-196; Bernier, pp. 273-274; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 141-44; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 203; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 260.
7. The Mughal emperors appeared at a balcony every day. The practice was discontinued by Aurangzeb.
8. The first.
9. Shuja.
10. Called—the first, Begum Saheb.
11. Jahanara Begam, surnamed the Begum Sahib. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XVIII, Note 28.
12. The second.
13. Raushanara Begam, literally “adornment of light”, here of “serene mind.”
14. Accustomed to be.
15. Barqandaz Khan, Sardar Khan, Itibar Khan, Danishmand Khan and Kamal Khan.
16. Gwalior. Princes of the imperial family, for political convenience of the reigning monarch, were usually lodged in the fort of Gwalior and there rendered imbecile by regular administration of drugs like “post”. (Bernier, pp. 106 ff and note).
17. On the pretext of.
18. Succession to the empire.
19. From Ar. *kafir*, pl. *kofra*, ‘an infidel, an unbeliever in Islam’ (Hobson-Jobson, pp. 140-42).
20. Ar. *Rafzi*.
21. Country’s (*della Patria*).
22. For the rest of his days.
23. Rival brothers.
24. Very rich.
25. Shahbaz (Manucci’s Xaabas), an able officer of the rank of 5000. He reduced Surat on his master’s behalf and warned him against the designs of Aurangzeb who had the faithful eunuch strangled. (Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 249, 252, 303).
26. This is a mistake. Shuja after taking Patna advanced towards Benares, but was defeated by Jai Singh and Sulaiman Shukoh near Bahadurpur five miles north-east of Benares, and fled towards Bengal.
27. Sulaiman Shukoh, son of Dara, was born in 1635. Jai Singh and Diler Khan deserted him after his father’s defeat at Samugarh and he took refuge with the Raja of Srinagar, Prithvi Singh. Subsequently he was handed over to Aurangzeb who imprisoned him in the fort of Gwalior where he was poisoned.
28. Muhammad Sultan was the eldest son of Aurangzeb; born 1639, died 1676. As to his marriage with the daughter of Abdullah Qutb Shah, see Khafi Khan, Vol. I, pp. 746, 749. He was in charge of Aurangzeb’s right-wing in the battle of Samugarh.
29. Mir Jumla, see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. VIII, Note 7.
30. Who was still occupied, by order of Shah Jahan, at the siege of Kaliana.
31. Kalyan, an important railway junction in Thana district, Bombay, about 30 miles from Bombay town.
32. Tell him.
33. Daulatabad. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XLV.
34. Ingenuously.
35. That the father.
36. Muhammad Muazzam surnamed Shah Alam, see *ante*.
37. Having already made.
38. Mir Jumla returned to Aurangabad about 1 January, 1658 and as soon as he entered the chamber of Aurangzeb, he was arrested by collusion on a false charge of ‘treason’ and all his artillery and property seized in the name of the state. For a discussion of the motives of Aurangzeb and the sham nature of the arrest, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 361-362.

39. That you are not the man to take it in jest.
40. In.
41. To.
42. Burhanpur.
43. Should make every endeavour.
44. As he wished.
45. The river at Ujjain, Sipra (*Imp. Gaz.*, XXIII, pp. 14-15). Thornton's *Gazetteer* (1854), Vol. IV, pp. 412-413, gives the position and character of the various crossings, and the width and depth of the stream. The reference is to the battle of Dharmat near Ujjain.
46. 'And' between Kasem and Cham is a printing mistake. The Italian text has Kasem Kan, Muhammad Qasim, surnamed Mutamad Khan in the first instance and then Qasim Khan (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 95-99).
47. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, a staunch partisan of Dara who later submitted to Aurangzeb. He held a mansab of 7,000 and died at Jamrud near Peshawar in 1678.
48. Bernier estimates Rajput casualty at 7,400 (p. 39). Isardas's estimate is "24 eminent Rajput chiefs, 2,000 Rajputs of Marwar, and 6,000 troopers and officers of the Imperial service were slain." See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, pp. 25-26 and n.
49. Samugarh, a village 8 miles due east of Agra Fort (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet 50 S.E. cited in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 31 n). According to the *Alamgirnamah*, (p. 94) cited in Manucci, Vol. I n., the battle was fought on the 7th Ramzan (June 8, 1658, N.S.; May 30, O.S.).
50. Ram Singh Rathor of Kishangarh, son of Karmasi, and nephew through his mother of Rana Jagat Singh of Udaipur. (*Maasir-ul-umara*, Vol. II, p. 266). Rutle or Rotella, according to Irvine (*Manucci*, Vol. I, p. 241 n), 'must be either a popular form of Rathor, or one of their subdivisions.' Khafi Khan has given a detailed account of the valour displayed by Ram Singh who was shot in the forehead with an arrow by Murad and killed. Also see Bernier, pp. 51-52.
51. With an arrow
52. Issue.
53. Khalilullah Khan, son of Mir Miran, Yazdi. Manucci, (Vol. I, pp. 280-82), and Bernier (pp. 53-54) also refer to his treachery at Samugarh. The contemporary Mughal authorities (cited in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 57 n) refute the story that Dara dismounted from his elephant at a time when he had completely defeated Aurangzeb, and maintain that Dara took to his horse when he had absolutely no chance of victory.
54. Treacherously.
55. Might lose heart.
56. Sudden fear.
57. Too quickly from his.
58. Great victories.
59. Send his consolation.
60. The garden of Nur-Manzil or Dhara, outside Agra city (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 70).
61. For the rest.
62. On the pretence of wishing to speak to Shah Jahan on his behalf.
63. His eunuch.
64. Not Akbar Khan, but I'tibar Khan (Manucci's Atbarcan) see Manucci, Vol. I, p. 296. Bernier says, "He immediately appointed his eunuch *Etbarcan* governor of the fortress" (p. 64). As Careri was familiar with Bernier's *Travels*, Ekbar in the Italian text is very likely a printing mistake for Etbar.
65. Without permission.
66. Shaista Khan.
67. This account is probably borrowed from Bernier (p. 66).
68. Mathura or Muttra on the right bank of the Jumna, about 30 miles from Agra.



69. Concealed evil designs.
70. At least for that day.
71. His (Aurangzeb's) honeyed words.
72. The Shiraz wine so called from the town in Persia.
73. Sayyid Mir entitled Amir Khan, brother of Shaikh Mir, and son of Mir Muhammad Khan Khwafi (*Maasir-ul-umara*, Vol. II, pp. 476, 668). Also see Bernier, p. 67.
74. Desired.
75. *Jamdhār* from Sans. *Yama*, 'death and *dhāra* 'a sharp edge'. It was a short, broad dagger. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 110; Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moguls*, p. 86). Egerton, *An Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* supplies useful information regarding eastern arms.
76. Succeeded in pacifying them.
77. 'Amari, 'a covered-in-howdah or litter'.
78. Salimgarh or Nurgarh fort, at the north end of the Delhi Fort (*Lal Qila*) built by Salim Shah in 1546. During Aurangzeb's reign it served the purpose of a state prison. (Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi*, pp. 195-6; *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi Province*, Vol. II, p. 300).
79. Came in conflict.
80. Prince Muhammad Sultan deserted to Shuja in June 1659. In February next year he left his uncle and returned to Mir Jumla's camp where he was put under arrest, and sent to Gwalior. Subsequently he was transferred to Salimgarh and poisoned (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 275; Bernier, pp. 82-83; Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 337-338, Vol. II, pp. 194-195).
81. Careri simply repeats Bernier's account here. The prince was warmly received by Shuja, married one of his daughters and became his chief commander. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 261).
82. He wished to be treated.
83. Almost of.
84. Ajmer. The battle between Dara and Aurangzeb was fought at Dorai about 3 miles south of Ajmer (12th-14th March, 1659).
85. Jaswant Singh had not originally acted as an instrument of Aurangzeb as Careri suggests. He sincerely wanted to fight for Dara when he invited the prince in February 1659 to come to Ajmer but was later won over to Aurangzeb's side by Jai Singh. The result was the disastrous defeat of Dara in the battle of Dorai.
86. "35 days" in the Italian text.
87. 'Hand' is a misprint for 'land'. The Italian text is as follows: "fra le Terre dia molti Ragia, amici di Gessem."
88. Fight him anyhow. Dara fought Aurangzeb's army at Dorai pass and not Jaswant Singh who was at Jodhpur at the time.
89. Badi-uz-zaman, called Mirza Dakhini, governor of Ahmadabad. Careri following Bernier wrongly accuses Shah Nawaz Khan of treachery. It is said that Dara himself suspected Shah Nawaz's good faith probably because the old man was Aurangzeb's father-in-law and this suspicion was shared by some Indian chroniclers as well. But Shah Nawaz's death at Dorai in defence of a hopeless cause should set all such suspicions at rest. Manucci says that "he did, as a fact, lose his life for love of Dara" (Vol. I, p. 325) and was killed at Aurangzeb's orders (Vol. I, p. 344). Indeed he had willingly surrendered Ahmadabad to Dara when he could easily repulse the prince's insignificant force.
90. This statement is also based on Bernier, pp. 87-88.
91. Kolis, see Thevenot, Part III, Book I, Chap. IV. Bernier calls them "the greatest robbers, and altogether the most unprincipled people in the Indies" (pp. 88-89).
92. Malik Jiwan, son of Ayub, the chief of the Barozai Afghans. He was rewarded with the title of Bakhtyar Khan for his treachery. Manucci says, "Dara had three times rescued this man from death." (Vol. I, p. 347).
93. Sipih Shukch, son of Dara.

94. The island fortress of Bhakkar (now in Sukkur district) under the jurisdiction of Tatta in Sind.
95. Mirbaba or Bahadur Khan, the foster-brother of Aurangzeb.
96. Suspecting worse.
97. Hakim Daud, Taqarrub Khan, physician to Shah Jahan (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 490). He came from Persia (Bernier, p. 100).
98. And without religion.
99. Nazar Beg Chelah. Manucci says that he was "one of King Shahjahan's slaves, brought up by him from childhood." Dara had once given him offence by rebuking him for his insolence (Vol. I, p. 358). Nazar Beg himself was later stabbed to death under Aurangzeb's instructions (Manucci, Vol. I, p. 383).
100. Us.
101. For the murder and burial of Dara, see Bernier, p. 102; Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 358-360; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 283.
102. First washed it with his own hands.
103. Humagon—a misprint in the English translation for 'Humayun' (in the Italian text). Humayun's tomb has long served as a cemetery for the Imperial family. About 120 princes of the house of Timur including poor Dara were buried in its vaults but the exact place where Dara was interred cannot be located.
104. Daughters—a misprint for "daughter", the more accurate translation is—"That night the daughter of the unhappy man was made to enter the seraglio" (Italian text, p. 182).
105. See *ante*.
106. Srinagar in the Garhwal District of U. P. The ruler was Raja Prithvi Singh who treated Sulaiman Shukoh with all kindness and attention. For the intrigues of Aurangzeb and capture of Sulaiman, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, pp. 232-234.
- 106a. Confused with Jai Singh.
107. Medini Singh.
108. Saiyad (Bernier, p. 108). The person executed by Murad was Mir Ali Naqi, Diwan of Gujarat, (Manucci, Vol. I, p. 240 *n* and p. 382).
109. In order to seize his goods.
- 109a. Murad was executed after a mock trial on the complaint of Ali Naqi's second son.
110. Whose intention.
111. Everywhere, even into the islands.
112. Dacca, former capital of Bengal. See also. Thevenot, Part III, Chapter XI, Note 7.
113. Sultan Bang, according to Manucci. Bernier calls him Sultan Banque (p. 109). Irvine suggests that he may be identified with Sultan Buland Akhtar, second son of Shuja whom the Dutch called Bon Sultan and the eldest son of his father. (Manucci, Vol. I, p. 369 *n*).
114. Arakan or Magh. Arakan is the country and the people inhabiting it are known as Maghs.
115. Mokha.
116. *Jalia*, a small trading or fighting craft commonly used by the Arakanese Portuguese in their expeditions to Bengal.
117. The King did not fulfil his promise.
118. Wounded.
119. For the different accounts regarding Sultan Shuja's death, see Bernier, pp. 112-114; Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 374-376, specially footnote 2, and Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, pp. 286-288.
120. Identified.
121. And others that he finally fled to Persia.
122. Bernier says that some of Sultan Banque's servants were responsible for this imprudence (p. 114).
123. Through the excessive ambition to rule.

124. The dates are wrong. The war began in 1657 and lasted till 1660. Careri as usual blindly follows Bernier.
125. The chief qazi, *Qazi-ul-quzzat*. The account of the resistance of the qazi is in line with Tavernier's account (Vol. I, p. 284), though not confirmed by other sources.
126. It was necessary to depose him.
127. Benefit.
128. Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 21 July, 1658 according to Sarkar but the coronation festival, *Jashan*, took place for the first time on 24 Ramazan, 1069 H. (15 June, 1659).
129. The celebrated Peacock-Throne of Shah Jahan. Careri wrongly attributes its construction to Tamerlane.
130. Seated himself on the richest and most superb throne that ever was seen in the world on account of the vast number of precious stones that adorned it.
131. Shahjahanabad or Delhi.
132. Tavernier also says, "From the moment that Aurangzeb took possession of the throne, he would eat neither wheaten bread, flesh, nor fish. He sustained himself with barley bread, vegetables, and sweetmeats, and would not drink any strong liquor" (Vol. I, p. 296). On the puritanical habits of Aurangzeb, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 84 ff; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 332.
133. Foremost.
134. Throne.
135. The Persian envoy Budaq Beg presented himself at the court on 2 June, 1661 (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 35). Bernier gives the alleged purport of the letter, (p. 149) and Careri reproduces it here. Manucci also states that some people believed that the Persian monarch had reproved Aurangzeb for his misdeeds. (Vol. II, p. 52). See Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 47-54, Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.
136. Laughing at him.
137. Alamgir. The Emperor's full title was—Abul Muzaffar Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Padishah Ghazi. Alamgir literally means 'conqueror of the world'.
138. Concluded by challenging him.
139. Shah Jahan died, according to Sarkar, on 22 January, 1666 (*History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 140). Irvine in a footnote gives another date, February 1, 1666 (Manucci, Vol. II, p. 125 note). The discrepancy is accounted for by the difference between old and new calenders.
140. To him.
141. The originator of this scandal seems to have been the gossiping Bernier (p. 11) whom other travellers willingly copied. Manucci observes—"this has given occasion to Monsieur Bernier to write many things about the princess, founded entirely on the talk of low people" Vol. I, p. 217.
142. Adorned.
143. Where she died.
144. She died in 1681. The story of poison is baseless. The princess was buried in the *dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin near Humayun's tomb, Delhi.
145. If we now like to glance back at times past, and into the life of Shah Jahan.
146. Prince Dawar Baksh, son of Khusrav, surnamed 'Bulaqi' See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. III, Note 20.
147. Sultan Khusrav rebelled against his father five months after the latter's accession to the throne.
148. Designing one day.
149. Eldest son.
150. Prince Khurram, afterwards Emperor Shah Jahan. He was not the second but the third son of Jahangir, the second being Prince Parwiz, who died in 1626.
151. From the throne.
152. Awaiting.
153. Live the rest of his days.

154. Make away with him.
155. For details regarding Khusrav's death, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 330-31 and note.
156. With a great number of soldiers.
157. Old age.
158. Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan and father-in-law of Shah Jahan. Careri's account is very inaccurate here. Khurram was chased from province to province by his father's generals. Nur Jahan tried to secure the throne for the Emperor's youngest son and her son-in-law, the do-nothing Shahriyar and Asaf Khan proclaimed Bulaqi as emperor in furtherance of the interests of his own son-in-law Khurram then absent from Hindustan.
159. And on the contrary.
160. Crown.
161. But did not settle him (Bulaqi) on the throne.
162. The event occurred on 28 October 1627 (Beni Prasad, p. 423).
163. Art.
164. A fanciful story which Careri might have heard from some of his imaginative acquaintances. Jahangir was buried at Shahdara near Lahore. A very similar story of Shah Jahan's feigned death is told by Peter Mundy (Vol. II, p. 213).
165. At least two leagues.
166. As if.
167. Which was easy for him.
168. Leading the life of a fakir.
169. Bulaqi was put to death by Shah Jahan in January, 1628 and the person going by that name in Persia must have been an impostor. But more than one European traveller believed in the story of Bulaqi's escape to Persia. Mandelslo claims to have met Polagi (Bulaqi) at Qazvin (p. 256). Peter Mundy was more correctly informed but he shared the belief common among the travellers that Jahangir had nominated Bulaqi or Dawar Baksh his heir. (Vol. II, pp. 107, 206). Manucci also asserts that Bulaqi found his way to Persia and died there (Vol. I, p. 181). Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 272) says "I had an opportunity of conversing with him during my travels in Persia, and drank and ate with him." It is quite conceivable that the Shah entertained a pretender for political reasons.
170. Shah Safi or Safavi II (1629-42), ruler of Persia.
171. Notorious.
172. Conquering in order to reign.

#### CHAPTER IV

1. In no Indian language is the word used in this sense. The Marathas however referred to the Mughals as the *tambra* or red (fair) in contradistinction to the Abyssinians who were styled as the *Shamal*—black or dark.
2. Arakan, Tipperah and Assam.
3. Lands.
4. The Himalayas are probably meant.
5. Chughtai, so named after a son of Chingiz Khan.
6. Bhutan.
7. Kandahar.
8. To lay.
9. Great.
- 9a. The extent of Timur's empire is highly exaggerated. Though the Saiyad Kings pretended to rule on behalf of Timur, India never formed an integral part of his empire and he certainly did not carry his arms as far as Poland though he defeated the Ottoman ruler of Constantinople.
10. Clever.
11. Sultan Bayazid I, (1389-1403). His army was defeated by Timur near Angora, and he himself was taken prisoner (21 July, 1402). Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 185, 266. Bernier also repeats the conversation (pp. 167-68).

12. Chingiz Khan, the great Khakan of the Mongols. Timur however did not belong to Chingiz's family. He was a Berlas Turk.
13. Miran Shah who survived Timur, his father, only three years.
14. Sultan Muhammad Mirza, son of Miran Shah. See Table in *Ain*, Vol. I.
15. Mahomet was succeeded by Mirza Sultan Absuid.
16. Sultan Abu Said Mirza, grandson of Miran Shah. He allied himself with the Uzbegs, seized Bokhara and entered Khorasan. He was eventually taken prisoner by Uzun Hasan and killed in 1469.
17. Sultan Omar Shaikh, father of Babar. Omar Shaikh held the small principality of Farghana. Timur's vast empire had already been divided among his numerous descendants.
18. The next ruler.
19. Babar, Zahiruddin Muhammad, who was defeated by Shaibani Khan in 1504. He died in 1530 and not in 1532 as wrongly stated by Careri. Babar in Turki means 'a lion' and not 'bold'. He did not succeed in recovering his ancestral territories as Careri suggests later.
20. Shaibani Khan, the Uzbeg leader.
21. Sher Khan or Sher Shah. He was not a general of Humayun although he had served for a while in Babar's army.
22. Bairam Khan, son of Saif Ali Beg. He was born at Badakshan and entered Humayun's army at the age of 16. The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to him. In 1556, he was appointed *ataliq* (guardian) of Akbar, and later received the title of *Khan Baba*. For details of his life, see *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 315-317.
23. Humayun died in 1556, and not in 1552.
24. Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar.
25. Jahangir Padishah.
26. The sons of Jahangir were Khusrav, Parviz, Khurram and Shahriyar. Daniyal was a son of Akbar and brother of Jahangir. Khusrav and Parviz had predeceased their father; only Khurram and Shahriyar were alive at the time of Jahangir's death.
27. Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad. He obtained the title "Shah Jahan" (King of the World) in 1617 during his father's lifetime.
28. For the daily life of the Mughal Emperors from Akbar onwards, see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 65 ff. The *Ain* (Vol. I, *passim*) gives minute details of Akbar's daily life, and this served as a model for his successors. Details about the daily life of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb are available in Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 1-15 and 64-71.
29. He took some food.
30. Necromancy.
31. Aloof.
32. Needs.
33. To whom appeal could be made from the ministers.
34. Did not penetrate beyond the outside.
35. The emperor was venerated as *Zinda Pir* or living saint by his Muslim subjects.
36. Concubines.
37. In this connection it is reported.
38. Indicated.
39. Customary with.
40. Are expected to bathe.
41. A similar story is described by Moll (*India*, p. 214).
42. Omit "and thousands".
43. Salutary.
44. Bound with.
45. Three other chairs.
46. Poisoned by a eunuch one day.
47. And doubting whether he was really dead.



48. Shah Alam was imprisoned with his sons in 1687 after the alleged discovery of his correspondence with the King of Golkonda. He was formally released, according to Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, (Vol. III, p. 47) on 9 May, 1695. Careri arrived at Gagala on 17 March, 1695 and waited on the Emperor on Monday the 21st. The day previous he had seen Shah Alam returning from his father's quarters. His release therefore must be dated earlier than the third week of March.
49. The King of Bijapur was not a kinsman of Azam Shah. The mistake has probably arisen from the fact that Azam was proud of his descent from the royal blood of Persia through his mother, and the ruler of Bijapur was a Shia like the Persian Kings. No reference to Azam's being in league with Bijapur is traceable. He never rebelled against his father. According to Ishwardas (cited in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 51) "in 1683 he strongly resented a false suspicion of the Emperor that he was forming a disloyal intrigue with Dilir Khan, and the Emperor had to soothe his injured feelings."
50. Before the latter was taken prisoner and lost his Kingdom.
51. This is a mistake. Muhammad Azam was born in 1653. Azam was only 42 when Careri came to Galgala.
52. Sultan Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, was born in 1657. In March 1695, he was only 38 years old. He died an exile in Persia either in 1706 or in 1704. See Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 1 and n.
53. The identification of this name is not clear. Is it Sonoegi of Manucci (Vol. II, p. 244) and Tod's 'Sonig'? If so, he, along with Durga Das, was the leader of the Rajput forces. The name is spelt 'Sonig' in the *Maasir-ul-Umara* Vol. II, p. 873). Ojha (*History of Mewar*, Vol. II, pp. 556-57) identifies him with Soning, son of Vithaldas Champavata.
54. "Ragiaputi" in the original, Rajputs.
55. Planned.
56. Shambhaji, King of the Marathas. Akbar reached his court in 1681 but Careri makes an error when he says that he had 4,000 followers. The escort consisted of 500 Rathor horse. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 367).
57. Kingling or chieftain. "Regolo" in the original means a ruler.
58. The enemy.
59. Shahu was not with his father Shambhaji when he was taken by surprise at Shangameshwar and he was too young at the time to participate in the war.
60. Violent storm.
61. Shah Sulaiman Safawi (1667-1694).
62. Part II, Book I, Ch. VII, p. 141.
63. Made several efforts.
64. Machination.
65. Gingee, the famous fortress in South Arcot District, Madras. Shivaji got possession of Gingee in 1677. The Mughal siege of this famous fortress lasted for eight years from 1690 to 1698 and was conducted by Zulfiqar Khan. Although the fort ultimately capitulated Zulfiqar Khan failed in his main objective—the capture of Chhatrapati Rajaram.
66. Kam Baksh, the fifth and youngest son of Aurangzeb, was born in 1667. He was slain in the war of succession near Hyderabad on 3 January, 1709. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. I, p. 72).

## CHAPTER V

1. Requisite orders.
2. Bakhshi or pay-master. Manucci calls him "the commissary-general of the cavalry" (Vol. IV, p. 408). Towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign there were four bakhshis, the chief of them being styled as mir bakhshi. A detailed account of their duties is available in Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37 ff; Ibn Hasan, pp. 213 ff.

3. Mir'adl is meant. This office was peculiar to India and was not known in Turkey, Persia or Egypt. According to Abul Fazl, the actual appointment of that officer was conditional on the qazi being unable to carry on the whole work. It was not a regular appointment, and the only instance of a mir'adl has been mentioned by Badaoni. (Saran, *Prov. Govt. of the Moghuls*, p. 347).
4. An account of whether ministers behave themselves well or ill.
5. Diwan. For the functions of this officer see Ibn Hasan, pp. 147 ff.
6. A misprint for "Giaghir" in the Italian text.
7. Excessive.
8. *Khan-i-saman* or *Mir Saman*, high Steward. His duties are not mentioned nor his power defined in the *Ain*. Manucci writes, "He has charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things" (Vol. II, p. 419). See Ibn Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 48 ff.
9. He is a kind of Treasurer General.
10. Diwan-i-khas, Hall of Private Audience.
11. *Ghusal Khan*, 'Private Chamber'. "Between the Diwan Khan and the female residences there was an apartment in which Akbar used to take his bath, after which a few trusted persons were admitted to see him. Later on, the diwan and bakhshi were admitted for state business, and gradually certain nobles of the court were also allowed in. Thus state business came to be transacted there, and the chamber, by its proximity to the bathroom, came to be known as the *Ghusal Khana* (or bathroom)." Ibn Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff. Under Shah Jahan this was named *Daulat Khana-i-Khas*.
12. A court of justice from 'adl', 'doing justice'.
13. This is highly exaggerated. The share of the State (land-revenue) was one-third.
14. The cruellest.

## CHAPTER VI

1. Very fruitful.
- 1a. For a contemporary account of the province and its products see Bernier, pp. 437-46.
2. Craftsmen.
3. Remains.
4. Smyrna (Ismir), in Asia Minor.
5. Yemen. See Bernier, p. 202. "Turkey cannot dispense with the coffee, which she received from *Yemen*, or Arabia Felix."
6. They send.
7. Mocha or Mokha in Arabia.
8. Bab-el-Mandeb (Arab for "The Gate of Tears"), the strait between Arabia and Africa which connects the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean. For the origin of the name, see *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. III, p. 91.
9. Achin in the northern extremity of the island of Sumatra.
10. To India.
11. Eighty-two crores.
12. Various estimates have been given of the revenues of the Mughals towards the close of the 17th century. According to *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, in 1695 the total revenue was a little over 20 crores. This is an underestimate as the revenues of only 17 subahs were taken into account. Manucci's estimate of about 38 Crores (1697) is probably nearer the true figure although he omitted the revenues of Bengal. See Sarkar, *India of Aurangzib*, p. xxxii.
13. Thevenot (See Part III, Book I, Chap. III).
14. De Laet. For the wealth of the Mughals, see pp. 107-12.
15. Pyrard heard that the Mughal could put into the field 30,000 elephants, 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot (Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 251). The foreign travellers

were prepared to accept any estimate of the Emperor's wealth and military strength.

## CHAPTER VII

1. For the various kinds of swords and other offensive weapons used by the Mughals, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 74 ff.
2. Curved.
3. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.
4. Helmets.
5. With the obligation to maintain.
6. From *hazār*, 'one thousand'. It applied to a mansabdar of 1000 who was an officer of high rank. The word, according to Irvine (*op. cit.*), was also applied to "an officer of artillery, generally of garrison artillery" (p. 157).
7. Cuhzariis, probably a misprint for Du hazari (commander of two thousand); Panges, *Panj hazari* (commander of five thousand); Hechets, *hasht-hazari* (commander of eight thousand); Deh-Hazariis, *Dah-hazari* (commander of ten thousand); Duazdehazariis, *Dawazdah hazari* (commander of twelve thousand). In Akbar's time, Prince Salim was a mansabdar of 10,000, which was the highest mansab (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 308).
8. "The salutation, called *taslim*, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering." "Upon taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a *mansab*, a *jagir* or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule is to make three *taslims*; but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made." (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 158).
9. Horsemen.
10. Which is called *mansab*.
11. Careri has apparently no clear idea about the *mansabdari* system. He did not know that there were no less than sixty six different grades of mansabs in Akbar's time the lowest being that of 10 horses. Mansabdars of superior grades were known as omrahs—the honorific plural of amir.
12. Bernier (p. 215) writes, "*Rouzindars* are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the *mansebdars*."
13. Horsemen.
14. *Do-aspa* cavalry.
15. Cost.
16. Attached.
17. Shutarnal or camel swivel.
18. Like swivel-guns on our barques.
19. Bronze.
20. Led close by.
21. The light artillery always accompanies him.
22. Bernier says that their pay was limited to thirty-two rupees (p. 217).
23. The ruler of Chittor had a militia of 22,000 horse and 82,000 foot. (P. Saran, p. 266).
24. Machinations.
25. Doubtless Bernier's *Augans* or Afghans.
26. Of whatever kind.
27. Income.
28. Punctually.
29. Are short of pay.
30. More than 300,000 etc.
31. Were stationed.



32. Comprised.
33. Consisted of.
34. Panhala, historic hill-fort in Kolhapur State, Bombay (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 396-397). Bidar Bakht, the eldest son of Azam Shah, attacked the place in 1695. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 37).
35. For Manucci's estimate of the strength of the army about the emperor's person see Vol. II, p. 422.

## CHAPTER VIII

1. Sans. *varshagrantha*, the birth-day anniversary, from *varsha* 'year' and *grantha* 'knot'.
2. Hind. *Tol*, weight, 'custom of weighing'. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Chap. XXVI.
3. Aurangzeb discontinued the custom of distributing his weight in money.
3. And those people are accustomed every year to make a knot in a cord which they etc.
4. Scented waters.
5. This room was quite filled with mirrors.
6. Beyond all belief.
7. Symmetrical and enriched etc.
8. For a description of the Peacock-throne see Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 303-305.
9. Fable.
10. Aurangzeb as a puritan discouraged and discontinued practices of non-Islamic origin but it is not correct to say that none of his predecessors had ever weighed themselves. Both Roe and Hawkins refer to this custom. In fact Roe witnessed the ceremony. "September 1—was the kings birth-day and the solemnity of his weighing to which I went" (p. 378). Terry was also with Roe and gives a description of the scene (cited in f.n. p. 378 of Roe's *Embassy*, ed. Foster). Also see Hawkins, p. 440. Careri wrongly describes the birth-day and weighing as two different festivals. The latter forms part of the former. The other festival was that of Nawroz or New year's day.
11. Hunchbacked.
12. More like woods.
13. This is the general complaint of contemporary European travellers who visited India.
14. Well-to-do.
15. *Haji*, a pilgrim to Mecca; from *hajj*, the pilgrimage, to Mecca made in the 12th month of the Muhammadan year. See Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 155-159.
16. For which they make.
17. Waterfowl.
18. Rajputs.
19. Avicenna (Abu Ali al-Husain ibn Abdullah ibn Sina), Arabian philosopher and scientist (980 A.D.—1037 A.D.). His European reputation is based mainly on his *Canon of Medicine*.
20. Use.
21. Add "caresses" after "allurements".
22. Clash together. The instrument seems to be *karatal*s or cymbals.
23. A misprint for *Cira* or turban.
24. Arab. *Zafaran*, saffron. The true saffron (*Crocus Sativus*) is cultivated in Kashmir only. *Haldi* or turmeric is known as country saffron.
25. The reference is to *saptapadi* or seven steps.
26. Born.
27. Food.
- 27a. Methwold also makes a similar statement: "They come into the world without much trouble to their mothers; for they are up againe about their

- business in three or four days, some the same day." (*Relations of Golconda*, p. 26).
28. Go to wash.
  29. Walk.
  30. Almost as soon as they are born.
  31. Nayar, see Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. I.
  32. If she wishes to be.
  33. Is borne sitting, with drums beating, followed by a long train of kindred and friends.
  34. Who has been meanwhile etc.
  35. Scented oil.
  36. With earth.
  37. Have.
  38. From their caste.
  39. For Mughal efforts to suppress *sati*, see *ante*, p. 363, Note 39.
  40. Read "Certainly" after 'Mogul'.
  41. To their utmost power.
  42. This Command.
  43. Practised.
  44. Noted.

## CHAPTER IX

1. Hurricanes called typhoons, six (*sic.*) months from the South and as many from the North.
2. Moving.
3. Except for.
4. A tiny cloud.
5. Read "For the rest", before "Indostan".
6. And vegetables.
7. Press.
8. Simples=Medicinal herbs.
9. Kollur. See Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. IX. Careri's account is obviously based on that of Tavernier.
10. See Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 58.
11. Discovering. Tavernier (Vol. II, pp. 59-61) gives the same method of digging. See also *Relations of Golconda*, pp. 30 ff.
12. Sifting it anew.
13. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 112; Ovington, p. 121; and *Relations of Golconda*, p. 32.
14. Rammalakota, about 20 miles south of Karnul (Kurnool), the identification of which was a matter of dispute for many years. According to Ball, its "position is fairly indicated on the small map of India which accompanies the Revised French edition of Tavernier's Travels, published at Rouen in 1713." (Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 43 n 2).
15. Sukadana, a port of the island of Borneo. The principal port for export of diamonds is now Pontianak. Ovington (p. 121) says that Borneo diamonds were much superior to those of India.
16. More accurately cheetah, *Acinonyx Jubatus*.
17. With the rope.
18. Apparently Careri never saw the animal for even the largest ox cannot approach it in bulk and size. Finn writes of *Rhinoceros unicornis* "The largest of our rhinoceroses and the fourth largest land mammal, the other three being the African and Indian elephants and the African square-lipped or white Rhinoceros." (Finn, *Sterndale's Mammalia of India*, pp. 186-187). *Rhinoceros Sumatransis* which is confined only in a distant corner of the country is much smaller and is about 4 ft. 6 in. at the shoulder (Finn, p. 189). Terry also makes a similar statement (Terry in Foster, p. 304).

19. Sanderson mentions the following: Driving into *Kheddahs* or enclosures, hunting with trained females, pitfalls and noosing from trained elephants' backs (*Thirteen years among the Wild Beasts of India*, p. 70). Careri mentions only hunting with trained females and pitfalls.
20. A female animal, bound.
21. Sanderson definitely states that "the period of heat is not marked by any particular signs in the female. . . . In approaching a male elephant, a female desirous of his attentions utters certain sounds, and courts his society; but only those conversant with elephants would notice this." (Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 94).
22. The habit of.
23. Sanderson roundly contradicts this notion. He says—"I have myself, on four different occasions, witnessed the act—once by two animals belonging to a wild herd in the jungles; on the others, by animals which had just been caught, and which were at large within the Kheddah enclosures. On each, the female elephant stood to receive the male in the manner common to all quadrupeds" pp. 94-95.
24. According to Sanderson the operation needs a party of four or five steady females, ridden by their mahouts, and not one female elephant in lust, pp. 73-74.
25. To domesticate him.
26. Keeper.
27. Even its keeper.
28. The period of gestation is not definitely known. It varies according to Sanderson's information from 18 to 22 months according to the sex of the calf (p. 59). Abul Fazl says that the period of gestation is generally eighteen lunar months. In a recent case, well authenticated, the period was about 21½ months, the calf being female. "The period of gestation in this case is about 21 months and 18 days. In the case of a male calf reported by Corse (*Tr. Roy. Soc.* 1799) it was 20 months and 18 days." (A. Aiyappan, *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, Vol. 46, No. I, April 1946, p. 182).
- 28a. "The general opinion of experienced natives is that it attains 120 years in exceptional cases, but more generally to about 80 years. . . . My own opinion is that the elephant attains at least to 150 years." Sanderson, p. 56.
29. Sanderson says, "Half a ton is a good load for an elephant for continuous marching", p. 87. He does not consider the elephant satisfactory "as a beast of burden".
30. Linschoten makes a similar statement. "In the Island of Seylon there are also great numbers, which are esteemed the best and sensiblist of all the worlde, for wheresoever they meet with any other Elephanthes (the Indians report for a truth, that they have tryed it) those Elephants of other Countries do reverence and honour to the Elephants of Seylon" (Vol. II, p. 2).
31. Their maintenance is very expensive.
- 31a. Normally elephants are herbivorous. If the *Ain* is to be relied on, no meat was served to elephants in the imperial stables.
32. Butter, green sugarcane.
33. Very many.
34. Musk-deer, see also Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Chap. XXIX, Note 1. It is not found in Rajputana, nor does the beast survive the removal of the musk pod.
35. Afterwards.
36. Almost all.
37. Seems to be male Baya or weaver bird during the breeding season.
38. Of good flavour. Also see Thevenot for this black-boned chicken (Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XXIX, Note 3).
39. On one side.
40. *Paisas*. The value varied between 46 and 56 to a rupee during the 17th century. Thevenot, however, makes the rupee equivalent to 32½-33½ *paisas*. (Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. IX, Note 16).

41. For the different meanings of the term see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. IV, Note 20. "The pagoda is an original Hindu coin, called *Varaha*, from the symbol on it of the varaha or boar, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, which formed the crest of the Chalukyas and of the Vijayanagar Kings." (Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 801). Ball (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 329) writes "Pagoda, new=3½ rupees; old=4½ rupees." In 1818 it was reckoned as equivalent to 3½ rupees. (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 653). Manucci (Vol. IV, pp. 132-133) says that 150 pagodas was equal to 520 rupees, thus making a pagoda worth nearly 3½ rupees. Careri makes it worth a sequin which according to Sir Isaac Newton was worth 9s. 5-7d., and according to Yule, 9s. 3d. Since a rupee was equal to 2s. 3d., the pagoda of Careri would be equivalent to a little more than 4 rupees.
42. A Spanish coin worth 16s. 9d. according to Sir Isaac Newton.
43. Profit.
44. A Persian silver coin the exchange value of which fluctuated from 16 to 18 pence when Careri wrote. See Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, pp. 125-126; Thevenot, Part III, Book I, Chap. I, Note 14.
45. Arab. This is equal to 100 crores, not ten.
46. Hind. *Man*, Maund. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Book I, Chap. IX.
47. Seers (*ibid*).
48. From time to time.

## BOOK III

### CHAPTER I

1. With free exercise of their religion.
2. The Mughals were Chagatai Turks. By Turkish sect Careri probably means *sunni* as opposed to the Persians who are mostly *shias*.
3. Most of the European travellers who wrote about India believed that the Hindu theory of transmigration of souls was borrowed from Pythagoras.
4. The identity is not clear. The most famous Hindu law-giver is Manu.
5. Animals.
6. Different sects.
7. Thevenot (Part III, Book I, Chap. XXXVIII) also mentions that the castes and tribes of the Indians "are reckoned in all to be fourscore and four in number."
8. Unless.
9. Vegetables.
10. The Maratha or Maharashtra Brahmans are meant. The three main sub-divisions of the caste are, the Konkanastha, the Desastha and the Saraswata (*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III Ethnographical, p. xxix). For a list of the Maratha Brahmans, see Wilson, *Indian Caste*, Vol. II, pp. 18-50.
11. Brahmans of Telingana or the districts inhabited by the Telegu-speaking people. They have eight main sub-divisions, among whom however neither inter-dining nor inter-marriage is permissible (Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, pp. 91-92).
12. Kanarese Brahmans. (Sherring, Vol. I, pp. 95-97).
13. Dravida. Maharashtra, Tailanga, Karnata and Gurjara are grouped as pancha Dravida or the five branches of the Dravida Brahman caste. See Sherring, Vol. I, pp. 27 ff.
14. Gujaratis. The two main sections are the Audichya or the Northerners, and the Nagars. See *Census of India*, 1931, pp. xxvi-xxvii.
15. Gaud Brahmans who like the Dravidas have five main sections collectively known as Pancha Gaudas. (1) Kanyakubja or Kanaujiya, (2) Saraswata, (3) Gaud, (4) Maithila and (5) Utkala. (Sherring, Vol. I, pp. 19 ff.).

16. Kanaujiya or Kanyakubja Brahmans of the United Provinces. A well-known proverb *Tin Kanauji terah chulha* (Three Kananjas require thirteen kitchens) refers to their exclusiveness. Risley, *The People of India*, p. 159.
17. Trihuti. See Brahmans of Goa who claim to be Gauda Saraswata, but are contemptuously called Shenwis on account of their fish-eating habit by other Brahmans of Maharashtra, believe that their ancestors migrated from Trihut or Mithila with the image of their patron deity Shanta Durga.
18. A misprint for *Gayavali* in the original, Gayali or Brahmans of Gaya.
19. Probably Gangaputra.
20. Hindus are not permitted to marry a *sapinda*, one entitled to pinda i.e. any person of seven generations in direct line of ascent or descent. Svagotra marriage or marriage within the same sept is also prohibited among the Brahmans and other high castes. See *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, Āchāra Adhyāya, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. XXI, pp. 94 *et seq.*
21. Cousin marriage is common among the Saraswat Brahmans of Goa with which region Careri was particularly familiar. Other Brahmans hold such matrimony in abhorrence. The Deshasthas and the Konknanasthas—the Maharashtra Brahmans *par excellence*, would not even think of it.
22. Add 'for courage'.
23. Legally no Hindu is bound to observe the rules of monogamy. In practice however the poor people are monogamous for economic reasons.
24. Choutia. The Raja of Ramnagar was styled in the Portuguese records as the King Choutia since he used to receive Chauth. (Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, 114 n and *Military System of the Marathas*, Chap. II).
25. Grassias.
26. Mahmudi—a silver coin of Persia. According to Mandelslo (p. 68) it was equivalent to a shilling. Fryer gives its exchange value at somewhat "less than an *English Shilling*." He further adds that "2¼ *Mamoodoes* is reckoned a *Rupee*. Yet to change *Mamoodoes* into *Rupees* there is sometimes given 3." (Vol. II, pp. 125-126). Ball suggests that its exchange value fluctuated from 8d. to 1s. (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 330).
27. Formerly a small state ruled by a Rajput chief, now a *taluk* in the Nasik district, Bombay. Careri rightly describes it as full of woods. The town of Peint is about 73 miles from Surat. The state lapsed to the British Government in 1837. *Imp. Gaz.*, XX, pp. 100-101.
28. Prabhus or Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhus as they prefer to style themselves. As early as Shivaji's time they claimed to be Kshatriyas. The Prabhus distinguished themselves both as men of arms and men of letters. Balaji Avji, Shivaji's Private Secretary, and Baji Prabhu the famous hero both belonged to this caste. In recent times also they have produced many distinguished men of whom Sir Mahadev Chauhal may be mentioned here. The Pathare Prabhus abound near Bassein and are essentially city people. In Maharashtra widows of all non-Brahman castes are entitled to remarry.
29. Meat except beef.
30. One of these tribes. The Pathare and the Chandraseniya Prabhu Kayasthas usually do not inter-marry. The latter are more numerous than the former who number only a few hundred.
31. Sutar or Barhai, carpenters. The two divisions mentioned by the author are Konkani and Gujarati. For proverbs regarding Sutar, see Risley, pp. 135, 316.
32. Kansars or coppersmiths, and workers in copper, brass and other metals.
33. All kinds of meat.
34. Gaulis or Gwalas, milkmen. (Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, pp. 367 ff).
35. Gardeners who trade mainly in flowers and garlands.
- 35a. For the Sonars or goldsmiths and their subdivisions see Enthoven, Vol. III, pp. 338-344.
36. Should not be confused with the Vallalars of the Madras Presidency who try to observe the orthodox customs of the Brahmans. Careri probably refers

- to the Valar, a section of the Mangs, among whom widow remarriage is common and who "eat all kinds of flesh except pork." See Enthoven, Vol. II, pp. 434-445.
37. Kunbi, Kalambi or Kurmi, the great agricultural caste of India known by various designations in different localities. (See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XXXVIII, Note 29).
  - 37a. Chandhuris, Patels, Rauts, Naiks etc.
  - 37b. The bridegrooms of some untouchable castes e.g., *mangs* were not permitted to ride a horse. They rode a bullock in their marriage procession. See Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 231.
  38. Does Careri mean the *Vaidus* a nomadic tribe of professional medicine men divided into three main section—Jholiwalas (the sound approximates the Doblās), Dadichewalas and Chataiwalas? The Jholiwalas eat deer, jackals, rats and squirrels (Enthoven, Vol. III, pp. 406-410). The Doblās of Broach, Surat and Thana cannot be reasonably identified with the Doblās of Careri as they do not eat such vermin as rats and squirrels and refrain from beef and carrion. Moreover they are peasants and agricultural labourers and cannot be described as "Wizards inhabiting the woods."
  39. A misprint for Bats.
  40. Crocodiles?
  41. Widows.
  42. Bhatelas, a subdivision of the Brahman caste who are agriculturists by pursuit found mostly in Surat district and Baroda state. (Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 225-228).
  43. One thread.
  44. Bhandaris, toddy-drawers and distillers. They are divided into eight endogamous sections of which the Kitte and Shinde correspond to Careri's *Kitas* and *Shiadas*. "They eat the flesh of Goats, sheep, fowls, hares, deer, wild boars and fish" and drink liquor. Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 96-104.
  45. Tend.
  46. Dhobis, washermen.
  47. The fishing tribes mentioned here are Kolis or Sonkalis, Gabits otherwise known as Kharuis, Vaitis, "a degraded section of the Sonkalis" inhabiting Thana District and Machhis.
  48. Should not be confused with Sarothias of the Thana District. The reference to the two distinct tribes, the one called Salukis, the other Goles, indicate a fishing community. The Solankis and Koli form two of the ten endogamous divisions of the Machhis. Of these the Koli, Dhimar and Kharva inter-dine but "in the Panch Mahals Machhis are divided into two groups, Kharva and Solanki which do not generally intermarry." A *Machhi* widow "may marry a younger brother of her deceased husband" Enthoven, Vol. II, pp. 397-400.
  49. A subdivision of the Lamanis or Vanjaris. (Enthoven, Vol. II, p. 341).
  50. Bhansalis or Vegas, who are closely connected with the Lohanas and Lavanās. At present they are labourers and cultivators rather than dealers in salt. Widow remarriage is permitted among them but they are vegetarians as a rule (Enthoven, Vol. I, p. 113).
  51. Crawfish and similar shell fish.
  52. Obviously a misprint for Bhatias, an important trading community. Careri wrongly says that they eat nothing but fish. Except in some parts of the Punjab and Sind they are strict vegetarians. Wives still continue to be costly. "The supply of marriageable girls falls much short of the demand, consequently the bridegroom, besides presents to the girl in the shape of ornaments and clothes of the value of Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000, has in some cases to pay the girl's father large sums in the shape of purchase money" (Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 133-145).
  53. A mixed tribe of the Kathis and Ahirs, found mostly in Bahiravad in Kathiawar. Careri wrongly asserts that their widows do not remarry. Widow remarriage is permitted and commonly practised among Babrias (Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 44-48).



54. Kathis, a fighting tribe of professional marauders. Careri is again wrong about widow remarriage, which they permit and practice (Enthoven, Vol. II, pp. 165-70).
55. Only Rajput widows practise sati and are not permitted to remarry.
56. Not to be confused with Hindi *farash*—a menial. The translator has made an important omission here. The original Italian has in parenthesis "*Alparqueros detti da Portughesi*" or the sandal-makers of the Portuguese. The farashes are not sandal-makers. The caste or castes that go under the general name of Chambhar are probably meant but all these castes do not necessarily inter-dine or inter-marry though some of them may eat carrion. See Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 260-271.
57. Nayars.
58. Cape Comorin from Sanskrit Kumari Devi, whose temple is situated there.
59. This is the Pulayan caste, also known as Cheruman, one of the lowest in social position in Malabar. Thurston, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff; *Malabar Gaz.*, p. 133. See also Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. 1).
60. If they do not wish to be beaten.
61. Compare Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. I, Note 28. Also see Mandelslo, p. 88.
62. Forced immediately to wash.
63. Whom they are striving to convert.
64. Many.
65. Scrupulous.
66. Animals.
67. Other tribes.
68. By others.
69. Which the penitents are allowed to exercise everywhere.
70. Bairagi or Vairagi.
71. Ravana. Thevenot, Ovington, and Tavernier all support the legend that the fakirs traced their origin to him. (See Thevenot, Book I, Chap. XXXIX, Note 14).

Careri may be referring here to Raghuvanshi Rama who did wander for many years in the forests as an ascetic; the sect in that case is the one known as Ramayet.

72. Republics or states.

## CHAPTER II

1. Hanuman.
2. Ravana, king of Lanka (Ceylon). The story forms the theme of the great Indian Epic, the Ramayana.
3. On which theme.
4. Probably a corruption of Mahalakshmi. The character attributed to her is absurd.
- 4a. Exactly as if.
5. In the same way.
6. Krishna, one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The legend of his having 16,000 wives is to be found in *Bhagavata Purana*.
7. Vaitarani, the river of the Hindu nether world which corresponds to the Styx of Greek mythology, see *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. IX, *Garuda Purana*, pp. 11-12.
8. Or Acheron.
9. The reference is probably to Canto XI of the Gita where Srikrishna revealed himself to Arjuna as the supreme deity pervading the entire universe.
10. The four Vedas.
11. They believe.

12. To be more accurate there are seven regions including earth viz., *Bhu*, *Bhuvā*, *Svar*, *Mahas*, *Jana*, *Tapas* and *Satva*.
13. Hindus believe in a common ancestor Manu from whose name the word *manava* or man is derived. But the story given here is fantastic in the extreme.
14. The Muslims believe in the story of Adam and Eve which they borrowed from the Christian scripture.
15. The sacred thread or *Janeu*. "The whole cord is tied together by knot called *Brahma-Granthi*, which has three parts, representing Brahma, Vishnu and Siva" (Mrs. Stevenson, p. 32). *Pyrarā* also speaks of "a cord of three strands of cotton which they (Brahmans) wear next the skin" (Vol. I, pp. 372-373). *Pietro Della Valle* also refers to "a fillet of three braids" but he knew that the distinction of wearing it was not confined to the Brahmins (Vol. I, pp. 88-89). The privilege of wearing the sacred thread is not the monopoly of the Brahmins but is shared by the first three castes.
16. Under.
17. Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesa, the Hindu trinity.
18. Eat any food unless they have it on.
19. Fast sometimes for several days.
20. From.
21. Sanskrit *Bhatta*, a learned Brahman.
22. Tilak.
23. He gives a feast to all the tribe who unitedly receive him again.
24. No great difficulty.
25. Believe that.
26. The Hindus believe that "it is only by holding on to the tail of a cow that the dying man hopes to cross the horrible river of blood and filth, called *Vaitarani*." "If the dying man has the physical strength, he should take the cow's tail in his hand and present it, together with a *tulasi* leaf, to a Brahman." (Mrs. Stevenson, p. 141).
- 26a. Provided that.
27. See Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. I, f.n. 31.
- 27a. See François *Pyrard* (Vol. I, p. 384), "he leaves his arms or some other signal at the door, and the others will dare not enter until he be gone forth." Also *Pietro Della Valle* "The Gentile *Nairi* have no peculiar Wives; but all Women are common amongst them; and when any man repairs to visit one of them he leaves his weapon at the door, which sign sufficiently debars all others from entering to disturb him." *Mandelslo* also refers to this custom (p. 88).
28. Polyandry was once quite common among the Nayers. See Note 27a above. *Pyrard* observes, "The Nairs may have but one wife at the time; but it is not so with the women; for every woman may have as many as three husbands at once, if she likes" (Vol. I, p. 384).
29. *Careri* did not visit Bengal and his account of exposure of babies is based entirely on that of *Tavernier* (Vol. II, pp. 167-168), but whereas *Tavernier* says that the babies so left are liable to be tormented by the crows, *Careri* suggests that they are exposed with that very purpose. The large percentage of blindness in Bengal can however be otherwise explained. The practice is entirely unknown to-day and was by no means common all over the province even in the 17th century.

### CHAPTER III

1. Various.
2. Very rough hills.
3. Round stone.
4. A fine tree.
5. Or other thing.



6. A misprint for "Giagranate" in the original text. English 'Juggur Naut'.
7. Jagannath at Puri, Benares on the Ganges, Mathura on the Jumna and Tirupati in the Madras Presidency. Careri commits the same error as Thevenot and Tavernier when he says that Jagannath is situated on one of the mouths of the river Ganges.
8. Kesava Raya, a name of Krishna. The most well known temple of Kesava Raya is at Brindavan.
9. Near there are other Pagodas and the tomb of their prophet Kabir.
10. Beni-madhava=Madhava or Krishna with braided locks (veni). Tavernier, (Vol. II, p. 181) thus describes the idol :—"Among the idols on the great altar one stands 5 or 6 feet in height; neither the arms, legs, nor trunk are seen, only the head and neck being visible; all the remainder of the body, down to the altar, is covered by a robe which increases its width below. Sometimes on its neck there is rich chain of gold, rubies, pearls or emeralds." The mosque built on the site of the old temple still bears the name of Beni-madhava. Benares, however, is specially sacred to Siva or Visvanath and not to Krishna.
11. Ranchordas. Careri's account of Benares temples is based on that of Tavernier who mentions two pagodas, those of Richourdas and Gopaldas. Ball and Crooke are obviously wrong (Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 185) in suggesting that the two idols were so named. Most likely the two idols were set up by two Vaishnavas Ranchordas and Gopaldas and the deities were named after them Ranchhor and Gopal—the god who ran away from battlefield and the god who looked after cattle—Krishna in his different manifestations.
12. Within it is a marble balustrade.
13. This is incorrect. The idol was that of Kesava or Krishna. Careri again repeats Tavernier's inaccurate statement.
14. Tavernier refers to "two courses of animals chiefly monkeys, carved in relief." (Vol. II, p. 187).
15. Tirupati, commonly called Tripetty. The principal temple is at Tirumala, 6 miles distant. Pilgrims flock from all parts of India there, bearing large offerings with them. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 393 ff. It is not very near the coast and is certainly far from Cape Comorin.
16. Vijayanagar.
17. The reference seems to be to the Vitthala temple, "the most splendid building in the city", though the pillars are not of marble. Commenced by Krishna Deva Raya in 1513 the construction of the temple was probably not completed on account of the final disaster that befell the city about fifty years later i.e. in 1565 (Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, pp. 116 ff.).
18. The car festival was annually held at Vijayanagar (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 255, 262). Nicolo Conti, who visited Vijaynagar in 1420-21, writes :—"At a certain time of the year their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god."
19. Afterwards presented.
20. The great diamond which Mir Jumla presented to Shah Jahan was the celebrated Koh-i-Nur. (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 315; Vol. II, App. I; Bernier, p. 22; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 237). It did not come from a Vijayanagar temple as Careri asserts but from the Kollur mine. Careri confuses it with one of the four large diamonds mentioned by Garcia da Orta which according to information received by him "had been seen at Bisnager" (See Dr. Ball's very learned examination of this subject in Appendix I, Vol. II of Tavernier).
21. Tanjore. It appears that the Nayak of Tanjore, Vijayaraghava became a vassal, by 1656 A.D., of Bijapur and not of Golkonda. Mir Jumla, therefore, could not have captured the place. Thevenot (Part III, pp. 91 and 105) writing in 1666 observes, "There are many Naiques to the South of St. Thomas who

- are Sovereigns. The Naique of Madura is one. He of Tangiour (Tanjore) is at present a Vassal to the King of Vigianour." (Vriddhagirisana, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, p. 140).
22. Rameswaram, in Madura District, Madras, on the island of Pamban. Tradition attributes the original shrine to Rama, the hero of the great Hindu epic. The present temple has been highly praised by Fergusson as a perfect example of Dravidian style of architecture.
  23. *Lingam* from *Linga*. Siva is usually worshipped in the form of a phallus. The phallus is not infrequently represented to be standing on its female counterpart commonly called *Gauripatta*. The principal lingam is of stone while the one commonly attributed to Rama and his consort Sita is supposed to be of sand.
  24. For the custom of cleaning metal pots after the eclipse is over and replacing old earthen jars by new ones, see Mrs. Stevenson, pp. 351 ff.
  25. The Brahmans having given notice of it everybody breaks the earthen vessels.
  26. Discovered by Brahmans from their magical books.
  27. Brass.
  28. Meanwhile attend.
  29. Rice, grains and other produce.
  30. The Divali and the Holi.
  31. Some.
  32. Careri is probably indebted to Bernier for this account of Mango trick (Bernier, pp. 153-154). Fryer (Vol. II, pp. 104-105) also mentions this trick of which a more detailed account is given by Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 55).
  33. "Reguli", petty princes.

## CHAPTER IV

1. A favourable opportunity.
2. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon.
3. On horseback to the Captain's tent accordingly.
4. At 3 o'clock.
5. Sikander Adil Shah, son of Ali Adil Shah, the last Sultan of Bijapur was a minor when he succeeded his father in 1672. He was taken prisoner in 1686 when Bijapur capitulated and died in captivity about fourteen years later.
6. Obviously lunar years as the prince was born in 1668.
7. The date is wrong. Golkonda was annexed to the Mughal Empire on 1 October, 1687. (Manucci, Vol. II, p. 306 n 2).
8. Shahaji Bhonsle, Shivaji's father, did not die in prison, though he was once placed under arrest and put into prison. He died of an accident at a village in the Mysore state. See Sen, *Sivachhatrapati*, pp. 90-91.
9. Rajapur, Rajgad, Kharepatan and Dabhol.
10. Razing.
11. Probably an echo of a similar story about Shivaji's grandfather Maloji whose sudden and unexpected opulence was attributed to the discovery of buried treasure through divine grace.
12. An indirect hint about the popular suspicion about the young prince's legitimacy. See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, pp. 4-5, f.n. 5.
13. In fief.
14. Pam Nayak, the Berad chieftain, inflicted a defeat on the Mughal general Dilir Khan in 1680. He loyally stood by his master the Sultan of Bijapur during his last war with the Mughals but had to submit to the latter in November 1687. He died in January 1688 (Sarkar, Vol. V, pp. 216-17). His nephew Pidia Nayak gave the emperor much trouble.
15. Twenty-seven villages. From "Sattais" (twenty-seven) and Sans. "palli" (Village). The headquarters were at Shorapur or Surapur now in Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State.



16. As in Book III, Chap. I Careri here uses the term indiscriminately for all low castes. The people meant here are obviously Berads. Fryer also groups *Coolies*, *Frasses* and *Hoiencores* together and calls them "the Dregs of the People". (Vol. II, p. 108. Also Iyer, *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, 197 *et seq.*).
17. Sidi Masud, regent of Bijapur during the minority of Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah for five years. Careri is wrong when he says that Masud defended Bijapur against Aurangzeb, Sayyid Makhdum, surnamed Sharza Khan, was the general commanding the Bijapur troops. The siege lasted a little over seventeen months from 1 April, 1685 to 12 September, 1686. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, Chap. XIV).
18. Abul Hasan (1672-1687) surnamed "*Tana-shah*", "the dainty King." See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. VII, Note 14; Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 321.
19. Bitterly disgusted.
20. Own territory.
21. Muhammad Sultan, eldest son of Aurangzeb, who died in 1677-78. The reference is to the Mughal invasion of 1656. For his marriage with the daughter of the King of Golkonda, see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. VII, Note 10; according to Khafi Khan (Vol. I, pp. 746, 749) *sarkar* Ramgir on the borders of Berar and Bidar formed the dowry.
22. Dowry.
23. Prince Akbar sailed for Persia in February 1687. A written promise securing the succession to the throne of Golkonda for Muhammad Sultan was also obtained but kept secret all the time.
24. On the pretext of the passage given to *Savaji*.
25. Here Careri records nothing but bazar gossip.
26. The siege of Golkonda began on 7 February, 1687. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 362).
27. Bhaganagar or Hyderabad.
28. Cut stones.
29. The siege actually lasted seven months and a half. Golkonda was captured by bribery on 21 September, 1687. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 382).
30. The prisoner.
31. Manucci (Vol. II, pp. 306-308) also says that the Sultan was insulted and beaten at the instance of Aurangzeb. Ishwardas gives quite a different account. (See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 385 *n*). Abul Hasan was sent to Daulatabad in February 1688 on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year.
32. "Pannaich" a misprint for "Pannaich".
33. Pam Nayak, on the contrary, loyally stood by Bijapur in 1686. See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 216.
34. Equally.

## CHAPTER V

1. Lose.
2. See Book II, Ch. I.
3. See Book II, Ch. I.
4. Hind. *machin*, Marathi *nachni*, (*Lolium Temulentum*). The seeds are found mixed with those of wheat or other cereals. (See Watt, Vol. V, p. 90).
5. The hard law of necessity.
6. No food.
7. See Book II, Ch. I.
8. Compelled.
9. I concealed myself in great fear.
10. Belgaum, headquarters of the district of the same name in Bombay. It was not a very big place either under the Muslims or the Marathas. (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 515 ff.).

11. Nevertheless.
12. Understanding.
13. Shahapur due south of Belgaum.
14. Fasting.
15. Jamboti, a small town eighteen miles south-west of Belgaum on the road leading by Kunkumbi and the Chorle pass into Portuguese territory (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 572-573).
16. Desai, from Mar. *desai*, a hereditary officer with extensive powers in charge of a district, in western and southern India. (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 306).
17. Likewise.
18. To them.
19. Tivi in Bardez district, Goa settlement.
20. S. Michael, one of the three forts of Tivi, mentioned in an official document of 1726 at Goa according to Cavaliero P. Pissurlencar.
21. Pumburpa, north of Goa. (See map attached to Fonseca's book).
22. From Pumburpa.
23. At the rudeness of the Portuguese soldier.
24. Escort.
25. A comfortable.
26. Channel.
27. This had happened.
28. Alas I am suffering from wounds inflicted by my own missiles.
29. Failing.
30. No. 13 of Pietro Della Valle's Chart, opposite St. John of God on the left side of the hill. Della Valle was at Goa when the news of canonisation of Francis Xavier arrived (Vol. I, pp. 170-171). A description of the reliquary containing the body is given by François Pyrard (Vol. II, Part I, p. 62). An illustration of the "Noble Tomb" ordered by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to which Careri refers, is given opposite p. 62 of Pyrard, Vol. II, Part I. Dr. Fryer also visited the shrine (Vol. II, p. 12) and Mandelslo refers to the miraculous preservation of the Saint's body (pp. 80-81). For a detailed account of the tomb and stories of the miracles, see Fonseca, pp. 286-301.
31. Fairly.
32. Of no architectural beauty.
33. Nearly nine years.
34. No. 35 of Pietro Della Valle's Chart. The Carmelites held a solemn mass in this church to celebrate the canonisation of St. Theresa when Pietro Della Valle was at Goa (Vol. I, pp. 172-174). They were expelled from Goa in 1707. The convent is now in ruins. See Fonseca, pp. 256-259.
35. Well designed.
36. The Italian fathers.
37. To defend that pass along with the soldiers.
38. Handsome gifts.
39. Imam.
40. The Captain's Galley, a small vessel and a fireship sailed out of the harbour for the Gulf of Persia, in aid of the King of Persia against the Imam of Muscat who with five ships had burnt the Portuguese factory at Congo.
41. Palace of the fortress or the Fortress of the viceroy (Fonseca, pp. 194-197).
42. As Fonseca observes, the pictures must have been very numerous for no less than 806 vessels had come to the east up to 1612 (Fonseca, p. 195).
43. And in another room paintings of all the ships and fleets.
44. Of the.
45. And there they coin money.
46. Portuguese gold and silver coin. "Garcia de Sa (1548-49) issued a gold coin called *Sao Thome* of the value of 1,000 reis (£1 2s. 4d.), followed by a silver piece bearing the same name." Subsequently a new gold coin, called *Sao Thome Novo* to distinguish it from the old coin was issued. "This was of three kinds, called double, single and half *Sao Thome* valued respectively at 8s. 4d., 4s. 2d. and 2s. 1d" (Fonseca, pp. 30-31). The coin was minted



for the last time in 1841. It derived its name from the figure of the apostle which it bore on one side (Dalgado, Vol. II, pp. 289-290).

47. Brass.
48. Tin.
49. See Thevenot, Part III, Chap. XXV, Note 9.
50. Bronze.
51. Port. *Bazarucco*. A small coin of diverse metals and fluctuating exchange value. About its etymology there is a difference of opinion. Some interpret it as *Bazar-rukka* or market money, others would derive it from Persian *buzurg* or big. The Bazarucco coined by Albuquerque in 1510 was worth two reis only. In 1554 it was worth 3 reis each but in 1712 five of this coin would bring only 4 reis. Fryer says 20 of these coins were equivalent to a fanam (Dalgado, Vol. I, p. 109; *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 121).
52. Article.
53. See Book I, Chap. VI.
54. Called the Fiscala.
55. On a pleasure excursion to.
56. A father of good taste.
57. Good fish.
58. But in several kinds of fruits; particularly large are the oysters.
59. Other contemporary travellers also testify to this practice.
60. Several very fine rarities.
61. I went on a pleasure trip.
62. Pyrad says—"They are obliged to have the fête-Dien in February or March, because in the season we celebrate it there is too much rain" (Vol. II, Part I, p. 35).
63. Brought for the Viceroy.
64. Of St. Joseph's.
65. With the help of Father Visconti.
66. Situated on the hill of Boavista. For the miracles associated with the cross, see Fonseca, pp. 274-277.
67. Very cordially.
68. That I required.
69. Are in control.
70. The vessel having already descended to the Passo near the mouth of the channel.
71. After dinner.
72. Chorao island in the Goa settlement.
73. Around.
74. Holy Apostles.
75. On my return, going to take leave of Father Constantine, I lunched and dined in the Farm of the Augustinians.

## CHAPTER VI

1. Tongking, French *Tonquin* or *Tonkin*, the northern division of the kingdom of Annam, which forms an integral part of French Indo-China.
2. Innocent XI, Pope from 1676-1689.
3. Likewise.
4. Society of Jesus, *i.e.*, the Jesuits.
5. *Paraao*, *prow* etc. Yule gives it a double origin; the Malayal *paru* 'a boat', and the island word *prau* or *prahu* (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 733).
6. Ran.
7. Confirming the saying "They struck Scylla in wishing to avoid Charybdis." (*Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare carybdim*).
8. I also put.
9. Great.

10. Burst.
11. A misprint for "mine".
12. Lack of.
13. "Sudden squalls accompanied by thunder and lightning, which are common in the narrow sea between the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra." (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 867).
14. The difference in the seasons is due to the south-eastern regions receiving the north-east monsoon winds instead of the south-west. Other travellers also noticed this contrast, cf. Mandelslo, p. 83, and Peter Mundy, Vol. V, p. 65.
15. Madura, Turaiyar, Tanjore, Gingee and Madras.
16. Point de Galle, Ceylon. A rocky cape, to the south of Colombo.
17. No wind could turn us from our course.
18. The island of Ceylon contains every variety of quartz, such as rock-crystal, amethyst, cat's eye etc., the first of which is abundant, of various colours and of good quality (*Hamilton, East-India Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 384).
19. And other rivers.
20. The same wind and rains continuing.
21. An archipelago of coral islets in the Indian Ocean, between 7° 6' N., and 0° 42' S. The hereditary Sultan of these islands is tributary to the British Government of Ceylon.
22. Called Bilanzo by the sailors.
23. Nicobar islands, a group of twelve inhabited and seven uninhabited islands in the Bay of Bengal between Sumatra and the Andaman islands. They have an area of 635 square miles.
24. Andaman islands, numbering 204, in the Bay of Bengal. "The traditional charge of cannibalism has been very persistent, but it is denied by the islanders themselves. It is however, undoubted that they massacred shipwrecked crews even in quite modern times".
25. Are accustomed.
26. Sufficient witnesses.
27. Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth century explains the name 'Andamans' to mean "Island of Gold", and speaks of a lake with peculiar virtues as existing in it (cited in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. *Andaman Islands*).
28. The crew.
29. Being poured from a vase (carried by a native of the island) on to an anchor the part which was wet with it, turned into gold.
30. Out of gratitude.
31. And water.
32. Of the English.



## ADDITIONAL NOTES

- Page 16 : *A rare Beast*. The rare beast described here is difficult to identify. Dr. Cockburn of the Zoological Society of London, thinks that "it is quite probably a Malabar Giant Squirrel". Dr. B. N. Chopra of the Zoological Survey of India writes : "Dr. M. L. Roonwal, our expert on birds and mammals, and I have carefully scrutinized the description of the animal mentioned by Thevenot, but its characters, as described, are so composite that it is extremely difficult to identify it. There is a superficial resemblance to *Hyrax* (order Hyracoidea) found in E. Africa and W. Asia (not India), but the teeth, tail etc. of Thevenot's animal are not like those of an *Hyrax*. The animal is more likely to be a rodent. The large size, as indicated by the tail-measurement, would appear to show that the animal might possibly be one of the giant squirrels of the *Rotufa* group, but these occur only in the Malaysian-Burma region. The presence of flat Primate-like soles is, however, a character not found in the rodents."
- Page 177 : *The Pagod is 100 Spans in length, . . .* To be identified with Cave No. 10, the Great Darbar Hall. See plate No. LIV of Fergusson and Burgess.
- Page 207 : *F. Hippolito Visconti*. He is referred to as *Father Hippolitus*, *Father Hippolitus Visconte*, and *Father Visconti* in Book III, Chap. V (pp. 269 and 272 of the present reprint). Father Giuseppe Monticone of the Propaganda Fide Archives, Vatican tells me that Hippolito Visconti originally belonged to the Theatin Convent of Milan. In 1673 he joined the new expedition of Theatin fathers for India formed by the Sacred Congregation. Following Father Gallo's death he was appointed Vice-prefect in 1698 and subsequently Prefect of the Missions (1705) with his headquarters at Goa. Father Visconti incurred the displeasure of the Portuguese authorities at Goa for having dared to follow the decrees of the Papal Legate Tournon in respect of Chinese rites. He was thrown into prison and remained there till 1714 when he was set free on condition that he should recall his missionaries from San Thomé (Mylapore). In 1720 he was succeeded by Father John Cajetan Comini as Prefect.
- Page 348, Note 43 : *Salvador Gallo*. He is referred to by the author as *Father Salvador* in Book I, Chapter VI (p. 192 of the present reprint), as *Father Galli* in Book II, Chap. I (*Ibid*, p. 207), and simply as *Father Prefect* in Book III, Chap. V (*Ibid*, p. 269). Father Giuseppe Monticone, General Archivist of the Propaganda Fide, Vatican tells me that there are plenty of records relating to him in the Propaganda Fide Archives. It appears from these records that the expedition of Theatin fathers of which he was the leader was organised by the Sacred Congregation in 1673 and that Father Gallo continued to be the Director of the Theatin Missions till his death in 1697. The headquarters of the Missions were in the 'hospice' of Goa.



## ITINERARY OF M. DE THEVENOT

- November 6, 1665 .. Embarks from Basra on board the Hopewell.
- January 10, 1666 .. Arrives at the bar of Surat.
- January 12, 1666 .. Lands at Surat.
- February 1, 1666 .. Leaves Surat for Ahmedabad, where he stays till February 16. Important towns en route Broach, Petlad etc. Visits Sarkhej, near Ahmedabad.
- February 16, 1666 .. Leaves Ahmedabad for Cambay by the land-route, and after losing his way, ultimately reaches Surat. (Exact date not mentioned). Speaks of the high-handedness of the Grassias.
- February 25 (?), 1666 .. Travels from Surat to Aurangabad in company with Monsieur Bazou via Navapur, Pimpalner, Satana, Deogaon and Suregaon. Meets Francis Fallu, Bishop of Heliopolis at Satana.
- March 11, 1666 .. Reaches Aurangabad performing the whole journey in a fortnight. The same day takes a night-journey to see the Ellora caves.
- March 12, 1666 .. Reaches Daulatabad at 2 A.M. where he stays till 5 A.M. Stays at Ellora for two hours and returns to Daulatabad the same day. Leaves Daulatabad and arrives at Aurangabad.
- March 13, 1666 .. Departs from Aurangabad to Calvar. Describes tank at Ambad. Sees feats of jugglers at Patoda. Reaches Indur after some days' stay at Bisetpuri.
- March 25, 1666 .. Reaches Indelvai.
- March 26, 1666 .. Arrives at Calvar. Leaves Calvar for Bhagnagar (Hyderabad). Writes of the exactions of the officers on the way. Journey takes six days.
- April, 1666 .. Arrives at Hyderabad where he stays till October. Leaves Hyderabad for Masulipatam. The journey usually took a week during fair weather.
- October 23-24 (?), 1666 .. Returns from Masulipatam to Hyderabad and stays there for three weeks.
- November 13, 1666 .. Leaves Hyderabad.
- November 20, 1666 .. Arrives at Bidar and leaves for Pathri.
- November 30, 1666 .. Parts at Pathri from his fellow traveller Monsieur Bazou.

- December 9, 1666 .. Arrives at Burhanpur and leaves for Surat. Suffers from Cholera during the journey. Comes across lions. The journey takes a fortnight.
- December 23, 1666 .. Reaches Surat and rests for some time.
- February, 1667 .. Embarks for Bandar-Abbas or Gombroon in the Persian Gulf. From Bandar-Abbas proceeds to Shiraz. Accidentally hit by a shot from his own pistol. Is treated at Shiraz without much relief whereupon leaves for Isfahan where his wound is cured.
- February-October, 1667 . Stays at Isfahan.
- October 25, 1667 .. Leaves Isfahan for Sier (?). Suffers from fever and ague.
- October 31, 1667 .. Leaves for Kashan and arrives there after four days.
- November 8, 1667 .. Leaves Kum at 2 A.M.
- November 16, 1667 .. Lodges at Farsank where he stops writing his memoirs.
- November 28, 1667 .. Dies at Mianeh.



## ITINERARY OF DR. GAMELLI CARERI

January 11, 1695	.. Arrives at Daman and stays in the monastery of the Augustinians.
January 12, 1695	.. Visits old Daman in company with F. Constantin.
January 15, 1695	.. Sails from Daman for Surat.
January 16, 1695	.. Anchors at Survali.
January 23, 1695	.. Returns to Daman after leaving Surat the previous day.
January 25, 1695	.. Leaves for Bassein.
January 26, 1695	.. Visits Tarapur. Passes through Mahim and the island of Vaccas or Arnalla.
January 27, 1695	.. Reaches Bassein.
February 13, 1695	.. Visits Ghodbandar in Salsette. Stops at Deins(?), six miles from Bassein. Describes the village of Mandapeshwar. Returns to Deins from Mandapeshwar.
February 14, 1695	.. Leaves Deins for Kanheri and returns the same evening.
February 15, 1695	.. Goes to Bassein again by way of Ghodbandar.
February 21, 1695	.. Departs from Bassein for Goa. Passes through Bombay.
February 22, 1695	.. Anchors at Chaul.
February 24, 1695	.. Reaches Dabhol.
February 25, 1695	.. Passes through Visapor, Lambuna(?) and Malvan.
February 26, 1695	.. Reaches Goa. Stays there till March 3.
March 4-5, 1695	.. Leaves Goa for Galgali; after passing through Mardol reaches Ponda.
March 8, 1695	.. Sets out for Chiampan (?).
March 11, 1695	.. Reaches Sambrani after passing through Bombuali and Chiamkan.
March 12, 1695	.. Arrives at Haliyal.
March 13-15, 1695	.. Passes through Kancre, Etchi, Tikli, Hunur and Mandapur.
March 16, 1695	.. Passes through Chikodi and Edur and arrives at Mudhol.
March 17, 1695	.. Arrives at Galgali.
March 19, 1695	.. Pays a visit to Aurangzeb's quarters.
March 20, 1695	.. Goes to see the tent of Shah Alam.



March 21, 1695	.. Is admitted to a private audience with Aurangzeb.
March 22, 1695	.. Has an opportunity to see Sikandar Adil Shah.
March 27, 1695	.. Leaves Galgali for Goa.
March 30, 1695	.. Reaches Belgaum after passing through Edur, Rodelki, Mandapur and Hunur.
April 3, 1695	.. Crosses the Mughal boundary into Portuguese territory.
April 5, 1695	.. Reaches Goa where he stays till May 15.
May 16, 1695	.. Sails from Goa for China.
May 23-24, 1695	.. The ship passes through Cochin and Cape Comorin latitudes.
June 4, 1695	.. Reaches Achin in Sumatra.
June 27, 1695	.. Arrives at Malacca.



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